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THE ANTIOCH PROGRAM FOR INTERRACIAL EDUCATION--THE FIRST THREE YEARS, 1964-67.

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AS NOTED IN THIS REPORT, THE ANTIOCH PROGRAM FOR INTERRACIAL EDUCATION TESTED THE ASSUMPTION THAT DISADVANTAGED HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS WITH A POTENTIAL FOR ACADEMIC WORK WOULD BENEFIT FROM A COLLEGE CAREER AT ANTIOCH AND WOULD ALSO CONTRIBUTE POSITIVELY TO THE COLLEGE. IDENTIFIED BY COMMITTEES IN VARIOUS DEPRESSED AREAS AND ACCEPTED BY RELAXED ADMISSION STANDARDS, THE 50 STUDENTS IN THE PROGRAM WERE EXPECTED TO MEET THE USUAL DEGREE OF REQUIREMENTS. THE REPORT DISCUSSES THE PROGRAM'S PURPOSES, THE SELECTION PROCESS, AND SOME OF THE PREPARATORY EFFORTS WITH STUDENTS LACKING ACADEMIC SKILLS. IT ALSO DESCRIBES THE BACKGROUND OF THE STUDENTS IN TERMS OF RACE, SEX, AGE, FININACIAL NEEDS, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, AND SCORES OF ABILITY TESTS. THE MAJOR IMPACT OF THE COLLEGE ON THESE STUDENTS IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN ONE OF "CULTURE SHOCK," WHILE THE EFFECT OF THE GROUP ON THE COLLEGE HAS BEEN "COMPLEX" AND STILL HAS TO BE EVALUATED. THERE IS A NEED FOR FURTHER ANALYSIS OF THE NATURE OF THE SELECTION PROCESS, THE PREDICTIVE FACTORS FOR ADJUSTMENT AND SUCCESS IN THE PROGRAM, THE ROLE OF THE ADMINISTRATION, AND THE DESIRABILITY OF INCLUDING MINORITY GROUPS OTHER THAN NEGROES. IT IS FELT THAT SINCE DATA ARE STILL BEING GATHERED A CONCLUSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE EXPERIMENTAL PROGRAM IS PREMATURE. (NH)

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THE ANTIOCH PROGRAM FOR INTERRACIAL EDUCATION--THE FIRST THREE YEARS, 1964-67

By Jewel Graham
Acting Director, 1966-67

"So, then, to every man his chance--to every man regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity--to every man the right to love, to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him--this, seeker, is the promise of America."

Thomas Wolfe, <u>You Can't Go Home Again</u>

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PREFACE

On April 1, 1964, the Trustees of The Rockefeller Foundation granted up to $300,000 to Antioch College for a program of recruiting and teaching students who normally could not seek college as a means for realizing their potential. In May, 1964, the trustees of Antioch College reviewed this proposal and authorized a $600,000 demonstration research program to recruit and educate 50 or more disadvantaged students.

Subsequently support was sought and received from the Samuel S. Fels Fund, the E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, and the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, under Section 408 of the Higher Education Act. In addition over 2,000 smaller gifts were received from an appeal to organizations and individuals.

As of October, 1967, 50 students will have been enrolled at Antioch through the Antioch Program for Interracial Education. On the basis of its experience so far, the College sought and received from the Rockefeller Foundation funds to extend the program in numbers beyond the 50 originally proposed, and in time beyond the period needed to see these 50 students to graduation. The College now proposes to admit at least 10 students a year for an indefinite period of time in order to test the hypothesis that it can truly educate a considerable number of disadvantaged students.

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education.

The Cefuet grants (Contracts to Encourage the Full Utilization of Educational Talent--Section 408, Higher Education Act) were made explicitly "to administer, evaluate, document, and disseminate information about the experience and research in the selecting, counselling, tutoring, vocational guidance, and co-operative job placement of 50 disadvantaged students at Antioch College over the period 1965-68."

As a part of the commitment to share findings with other agencies and institutions, this report is herewith submitted.

Jewel Graham, ACSW, Acting Director
Antioch Program for Interracial Education
July 1, 1967

I. THE PURPOSES OF THE PROJECT

Any realistic listing of the crucial issues of our time would assign high priority to those that have to do with poverty and discrimination. In recent years the United States government, impelled by increasing citizen activity, has recognized the urgency of the need to seek solutions and has taken steps, through civil rights legislation and the so-called "war on poverty" to encourage the formation of agencies and programs that address themselves to these problems in the United States.

One-fifth of this nation lives in circumstances that meet the Department of Labor's criteria for a state of poverty. One-tenth of this nation suffers from the effects of racial discrimination, and two-thirds of these are faced with the additional burden of poverty. The results of this are found in unemployment rates that are consistently higher than those in the general population, in educational levels decidedly lower than those of the general population, and in a family breakdown rate somewhat higher than that of the general population.

The rural poor of the South have migrated to the great cities of the North and West to join the urban poor already there. The problems that they have there and the problems of the communities that receive them are exacerbated by their paucity of tools for urban living. All of this, combined with the flight to exurbia and suburbia of the middle-classes, particularly the middle-class whites, has created a perilous situation in which socio-economic and racial isolation in the United States is reaching crisis proportions.

Crisis is not used lightly in this context. An astonishing proportion of non-white and white, on the one hand, and poor and affluent, on the other, children grow up aware perhaps of the <u>existence</u> of the other, but unaware of the <u>human-ness</u> of the other.

The response of the favored groups has hardened into a rigid position of anti-government support to the poor, opposition to open housing patterns, and the sanctification of the neighborhood school. In the face of their disillusionment with the motives, intentions, and behavior of the dominant society, the poor--particularly the Negro poor are increasingly angry and frustrated. More and more often young unemployed males are venting their rage in unreasoning riots, which they see as rebellions. While there are greater opportunities for middle-class Negroes who perceive (often accurately) that they can make the system work for them, there is widespread bitterness among Negroes who have despaired of using the system and who are turning inward in an effort to create and use group cohesion for the purpose of attaining political and economic power.

In this country education has long been recognized as a legitimate vehicle for social mobility (if not for social change). It is in this spirit that the educational systems have felt the legitimacy of the challenge to them to discover ways to teach all children for maximum participation in contemporary society. The initial response of institutional education produced a spate of what have come to be called "compensatory" practices. Though these have differed in scope and range, their common purpose was to provide for the educationally neglected child a larger and richer diet of educational fare in the hope that his deficiencies could be "compensated" for and he could thus participate in the normal scholastic processes. There are several compilations of these programs. Most are too recently initiated to permit of reliable evaluation of the effects of the programs. Some few were evaluated in the U. S. Civil Rights Commission study on "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools." The results seem to indicate that integrated schools are more effective than segregated schools in remedying the children's deficiencies because they seem to engender a more positive self-image and foster the development of the students' feelings of being more in control of their own destinies.

In order to approach realization of the "promise of America" agencies and institutions must be prepared to give more than lip service to belief in the human-ness of persons and equality of opportunity. Further than that, educational institutions can ill afford to avoid involvement in the problems of poverty and discrimination. They can no more claim to produce as educated persons people who are unfamiliar with the crucial issues and diverse peoples of the United States than they can claim to produce as educated persons people who are unfamiliar with the crucial issues and diverse peoples of the world.

In the past few years many foundations, corporations, local and state governments, and the federal government have encouraged educational institutions to undertake involvement with educating the neglected. The result has been twofold--a proliferation of programs to prepare students for jobs and for further participation in the existing structure of education; and competition among prestigious and affluent colleges and universities for students who have somehow managed to surmount the obstacles of poverty and discrimination. The major attempts to remedy the past deficiencies have been left to small struggling colleges, both Negro and white.

So far nothing has been said that is not common knowledge to the most casual observer or superficial student of the conditions relative to education for the "disadvantaged." It is, however, against this kind of description that the Antioch Program for Interracial Education needs to be understood.

The purposes of the project are several. It represents a commitment by the College to involve itself with contemporary problems.

It is the College's contribution toward educating and finding ways to educate better the educationally neglected. It is the College's recognition of the value of diverse backgrounds in the education of all its students. It is a bold attempt to deal directly with the enigma of human learning, to test assumptions about what people learn, and how, and why, as these questions relate to a segment of the population with which the College has been unaccustomed to dealing. It was designed as action research--the execution of a program based on a combination of experiences, theory, hunches, and questions. The theory, hunches, and questions have changed as the experience has been augmented, and as the on-going evaluation has provided additional insight into the problems with which the project is intended to deal.

II. METHODOLOGY

The designers of the project recognized that the poor young person who had already demonstrated his academic competence by getting adequate grades and test scores had a better than average chance of being accepted by and financially assisted by a college or university. On the other hand, young people whose career expectations and life plans lay outside college, who had not used their high school experiences to move them toward these ends, would not have used high school in the same way. Scholastic achievement was not, in the social matrix that determined their life styles, relevant to who they were and what they wanted to become. In short, documentation of their abilities might not exist. The Interracial Education Program was designed on the assumption that a society whose goal was integration judged it both possible and desirable to produce people with enough common denominators in their educational experiences to be able to know and to deal with one another as persons.

A way was devised to identify those young people judged to be intelligent and capable of benefitting from a college education. Selector groups were set up in four metropolitan areas and in southwest Ohio. These groups, though different in composition and size, were equally committed to the idea that there were, in the social backwash of the urban and rural slums, able youth whose potential ability to contribute to themselves and to society was being thwarted by the circumstances of their lives. Persons who knew young people, or who had access to people who knew young people, served on the committees.

The committee members came from many different professional backgrounds. They were clergymen, teachers, social workers, settlement house workers, counsellors, coaches. And their interest in the project derived from many sources--a commitment to social justice, to education, to young people, or to Antioch, concern about some specific young person.

They were told that Antioch would accept a certain number of students they might choose to recommend, that for them it would relax its admission requirements, but not its graduation requirements, and that it would expect the Committees to assist those students not accepted by Antioch to some other productive post-secondary-school experience.

Qualities judged to be important on the basis of faculty-student experiences at Antioch were:

Courage--ability to move and change.
Realism--ability to distinguish between desire and what is possible.
Imagination--capacity to perceive the possibility of things as they are not.
Skill in communication--ability to manipulate their various life situations.

Past success--in any area.
Stubbornness and tenacity--ability to see the main point and stick to it.
Toughness--a sense of self and worth.
Intellectual and emotional accessibility--openness.
Freedom of mind--ability to encounter new experience with some independence of judgment.
Sense of humor.
Ability to work hard.
A complicated mind.

In the fall of 1964 a staff of four part-time people, working under the general supervision of the Dean of Students, set to work to begin the implementation of this plan. By the fall of 1965, 11 students had been identified and admitted into the college as full-time students.

The intent of the original plan was to identify the initial participants as seniors, and the subsequent ones earlier in their high school careers, so as to be able to work with them to make available opportunities for augmenting their educational experiences. During the first year, staff worked with communities to set up selector groups and to put into effect this part of the plan.

The College was well aware of the hazards involved in the undertaking, but was willing to put itself at risk--to test its ability to teach a different breed of students. The College undertook, on the assumption that it had identified the sort of tough, bright students it had set out to find, to devise means of helping them to make use of the resources and facilities of the College in order to remake themselves into persons enlarged by new and different sets of experiences, able to function in a wider variety of situations. They were not expected to become copies of middle-class students. It was assumed that, as for all students, the thinking and feeling--the cognitive and affective faculties--of these students would be enriched so that they would be able to acquire and use new insights. It was hoped that they would recognize the validity of their pre-college lives and be able to use new understandings and old to work at solving the great problems of our times as well as the enigma of their own being. The College saw its responsibility as involving the students in learning through any methods that had any possibility of working, and helping them to remedy their educational and experiential deficiencies.

This process began when, after acceptance by the College on the recommendation of the various selector groups, the students visited the campus for several days as guests, living in the dormitories and using other college facilities. During this visit, they were subjected to a first group of tests--an individually administered Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale, a Reading Diagnostic Test, and the Omnibus Personality Inventory.

The nature of the program, which had already been explained to them, was further clarified. On the basis of the testing, recommendations were made to the students about their use of the summer. Staff working with the selector groups directed them to the use of local resources on reading improvement and other kinds of experiences for college preparation. Bookd were recommended that might help them in understanding the student culture and in preparing for the Antioch Achievement Tests--which are given for the purpose of educational diagnosis during the first weeks after matriculation. Students who needed jobs were directed toward help in finding them--sometimes through the College Extramural Department.

Upon matriculation, the students, having been apprised of their areas of academic need through the regular testing program, had access to all those facilities traditionally provided by the College for students who do not meet the expectations of the College with regard to writing or level of math skills. In addition, student and professional tutors, volunteer and paid, were made available. The College made available to all students the Baldridge Reading and Study Skills Program.

The College embarked on this program with the anticipation that the students enrolled were degree candidates; so it must be understood within the purposes of the program that at least some of the students would find sufficient relevance in a college education to graduate from some institution, if not Antioch, and perhaps to pursue graduate education. Short of this the students would have at least expanded their horizons, multiplied their choices, and held several jobs that would afford experience in some field hitherto unknown to them.

The Program is operating with some basic guidelines that are defined by staff understanding of the nature of Antioch, the nature of the selection process, and what is known about learning. Because of the way they were selected, the students, though sharing some common characteristics, are very different in background, motivation, preparation, and ability. Given the range of measured ability indicated in the tables on page 11, it seemed impracticable and undesirable to treat them as a unit. Hence there has been no effort to deal with them as an undifferentiated learning group. Their problems of learning have been approached individually.

Further, the intention is to deal with their learning within the context of the College. One of the assumptions, that the students had something to teach as well as to learn, would be invalidated by any attempt to set up separate learning situations. The process of learning from teaching them takes place in the encounter between the faculty member and the student, and between one student and the other students around a common interest. It is hoped that this can be done in such a way as to cast light on the whole teaching-learning process. Though the

Program staff has served as a point of reference, a bridge, an additional support, there was never any plan that it would substitute for the faculty and resources that are made available, or that should be made available by the College.

Another underlying principle has arisen from recognizing the way that the "disadvantaged"--the poor and members of minority groups--have traditionally related to society. In their relationship with authority they have been forced to be passive, which accounts for widespread feelings of powerlessness. Researchers in psychology, education, and sociology who have dealt with the idea of self-concept and self-image have found that a passive response gets in the way of learning. It therefore seemed especially important to find ways of combatting passivity and encouraging students to be active in relation to learning. This was made more possible and natural because of the expectation that all students in the new experimental First-Year Program would, with the help of a faculty preceptor and an upper-class preceptoral fellow, work out a program that fulfilled their individual needs.

The next section on findings will show that this course of action has its hazards. It is threatening. It is easier to be told to conform to certain requirements. It is neater and less confusing to understand that specified paper work constitutes education and will be rewarded by a degree. However, the First-Year Program is all the more important because what is being taught--and learned--is not only a body of subject matter (the cultural heritage), but also the knowledge that one has within his power to do something about his own life.

At first the Program for Interracial Education seemed like a misnomer for a program designed to accommodate the disadvantaged student, irrespective of race. Nonetheless, it was from the diversity represented by the difference in background that the College hoped to establish a learning situation for all its students that would cast some light on the problems of poverty and discrimination represented in the world today. In this sense it has afforded to those students with interest and initiative, the possibilities for valuable learning about the realities of race and class. It has the possibility of providing a truly "interracial" education.

However, the ultimate questions are yet to be answered. The real test is how much diversity the College can tolerate. Can it accommodate its resources so that they are, or can become, relevant to the educational needs of these students? In this report our objective is to present our tentative findings and evolving conclusions as substantive findings and also as a new set of questions that might illuminate other programs of this sort.

III. FINDINGS TO DATE

In an honest evaluation of the project in its short life to date, it would be premature to claim success. Claims of unqualified success might lead to the perpetuation of unrewarding practices. On the other hand, judgments of failure applied to practices that have been insufficiently or improperly administered might cause the abandonment of reliable and valid ideas. If success is judged by the financial and emotional support engendered by the project, it is clearly successful. The College has successfully confronted the problems and products of unequal distribution of wealth, of separation, and of isolation. What remains to be seen is the extent to which the College is able to stretch itself to meet the needs and serve the purposes of the young people who have risked themselves in a new situation in order to seek access to a better life for themselves and their children.

In previous reports the main purposes of the project have been posed in these questions: Can bright, tough, differently prepared students be found? Will they come to a school like Antioch? Will they stay? Can what is taught here be relevant or become relevant to who they are and what they want to become? Can the mechanisms by which they accomplish this be described so that they can be useful to other educational institutions?

Premature though it is, this report addresses itself to the institutional attempts to respond to these questions and to state the further questions raised by the work to date.

The volunteers in the selection mechanism working with students, or working with people working with students, have identified 50 students who will have been admitted to Antioch by September of 1967. It has identified many others who have been referred to other colleges or other post-secondary school experiences. The Great Lakes College Association[1] and the Colleges that have accepted Rockefeller challenge grants[2] have indicated a willingness to consider, and on occasion have accepted, students referred to them by the selector groups.

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[1]Albion College, Antioch College, College of Wooster, Denison University, DePauw University, Earlham College, Hope College, Kalamazoo College, Kenyon College, Oberlin College, Ohio Wesleyan University, Wabash College

[2]Antioch College, Grinnell College, Occidental College, Swarthmore College, Carleton College, Oberlin College, Reed College

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDENTS

Who are the students who have come to Antioch? Thirty-six are male, 14 are female; 44 Negro, 3 white, 2 Puerto Rican, 1 of Mexican ancestry. The prescription given to the selector groups carried no sex or race bias. The fact that the young people referred are so overwhelmingly Negro--and male--reflects the desperation of the situation of this segment of the population, their high visibility, and the frequency with which they meet the criteria set up by the staff--that is to say, tough, bright, with little reason to realize themselves in high school.

Ten per cent of the 50 were referred to the selector groups by their high school counsellors. Five per cent had not been referred to selector groups, but applied directly to the College, were judged to be eligible for the Interracial Program, and were admitted through the Program without reference to a selector group. Sixty per cent were referred to the selector groups by community workers of various kinds, including ministers, social workers, settlement workers, and Upward Bound staff members. Almost half the students were known to or referred by someone in the Antioch community--alumni, co-op employers, other students, and faculty.

They ranged in age (on January 1 in year of admission) from 17 to 23; the average being 18.8. The mean age for the males was 19.0 while the mean age for the females was 18.3. This reflects a year out of school at some point in the school careers of several of the students.

Although one of the questions posed by the project was addressed to the nature of disadvantage (dealt with at some length in an unpublished paper by Dr. Dixon Bush, Director of the Program), it was clearly established in the beginning that the financial need would be one of the criteria. In the beginning this was somewhat loosely defined. Later the College Scholarship Service (CSS) Parents' Confidential Statement was used to determine the extent of need in terms comparable with those used for other students.

None of the families of the first 38 students earned more than $7,000. A quarter earned less than $3,000. About one-third were students who were living independently of parental support. Thirty-five per cent (of the first 38) earned between $3,000 and $5,000. On the basis of the CSS computation, reflecting effective income, the parents of 21 students could be expected to contribute less than a hundred dollars, and all but 4, less than $500 a year to the students. In fact, no parent contributed more than $400, the great majority (30) contributed less than $100. This meant that most of them were eligible for Economic Opportunity Grants. The average Economic Opportunity Grant was $604, and 17 students received the full $800.

It was assumed that parents who had achieved middle-class status occupationally would have some knowledge of the value and meaning of a college education and would have shown some encouragement and support of a student's aspirations for college. The tendency was, then, to

exclude from consideration children of parents who had achieved certain levels of education and occupation. In this group (50) 12 per cent of the fathers and 20 per cent of the mothers had gone no further than the 8th grade; 28 per cent of the fathers and 24 per cent of the mothers had some high school; 24 per cent of the fathers and 28 per cent of the mothers were high school graduates; 6 per cent of the fathers and 12 per cent of the mothers had some training beyond high school. Most of the fathers and mothers had no more than a high school education, and many had less.

About a third of the fathers were employed as laborers (unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled); a fifth were in the service industries; 10 per cent were operatives. A third did not figure in their families' support because they were deceased or unemployed, or their whereabouts was unknown. A third of the mothers were housewives; 20 per cent were laborers; 10 per cent were employed in the service industries; 10 per cent worked as domestics; and 15 per cent did clerical or kindred work. Ten per cent were deceased, and none were unaccounted for.

The families (50) were not consistently large. Only 28 per cent (14) of the students had more than six siblings; 38 per cent had three to five siblings; and 24 per cent had 2 or less. However, there was a substantial proportion of one-parent families. About half of the families were known to be intact. In the other half the families were divided by death, divorce, or separation. There were several students who had separated themselves completely from their families.

Despite the fact that this descriptive data is about what would be expected from this population, it does not constitute a paradigm for disadvantage in the context in which the Antioch Program for Interracial Education is perceived. Dr. Bush has described the condition rather as a different life style, with the ways of believing, valuing, behaving, establishing goals, and working toward those goals as different from those espoused by the dominant elements of society.

To what extent had the 50 students been able to extract from their cognitive experiences information that met present expectations of the educational system? What did they bring in the way of special "academic" preparation? The assumption was that the students would be judged initially by the demonstrated ability to deal with the environments in which they learned to cope. Subsequent to their selection a number of tests were administered. These were given partly for diagnostic purposes, partly to be able to make some later assessments of the usefulness of these tests in predicting ability in atypical (for Antioch) students.

TABLE I

(Summary of scores of 41 students on the Antioch Program for Interracial Education on the College Entrance Examination Board Scholastic Aptitude Tests, verbal and math, male and female.)

	Male	Female	Total
Verbal			
Mean	450	422	440
Range	310/704	267/630	267/704
Math			
Mean	410	408	409
Range	294/590	330/540	294/590

TABLE II

(Summary of scores of 50 students on the Antioch Program for Interracial Education on the Weschler Adult Intelligence Scale, by sex.)

	Male	Female	Total
Full Scale			
Mean	114	105.5	111.8
Range	85/146	91/119	85/146
Verbal			
Mean	118	110	115
Range	87/145	96/124	87/145
Full Performance			
Mean	109	100	107
Range	86/136	86/116	86/136

While one might question the predictive value of these tests for students from disadvantaged backgrounds, there is no denying the fact that they provide a common measure of certain kinds of information people have absorbed as a result of the experiences they have been exposed to. As might be expected, the students in the Antioch Program for Interracial Education, by and large, do not possess the information possessed by the greatest proportion of regularly enrolled Antioch students, and this--despite the fact that of the 24 students for whom rank in class is recorded, 16 were in the upper quarter, and 27 in the upper half of their graduating classes--substantiates observations about the inequities in the educational experiences of the students in inner-city schools.

The most striking characteristic of the scores of the students as a group is their variety, and although the extent of the range gives lie to generalizations, some observations can be made. Attention is drawn immediately to the consistently higher scores of the males compared to the females, and to the consistently higher scores of both the males and females in the verbal area compared to the math (CEEB) and performance (WAIS) scores. Further analysis of the subscores on

the WAIS reveal an even stronger propensity for strength in the verbal areas. Both of these phenomena undoubtedly result from the functioning of the selector groups. They seem to operate in favor of high verbal males. On reflection one must concede that this is most often the manner in which intelligence is judged in all strata of American society. This culture values the ability to express ideas. It assigns status and authority to high verbal types--witness the politician, the professor, the communications expert, the vice-president in charge of sales. Whether this will be the determining skill for survival at Antioch remains to be seen.

The variety in measured scores will be useful in isolating the factors that make for survival at Antioch. Given the work of researchers who have determined that disadvantaged children pay a penalty of some number of points on standardized IQ tests, it is clearly within the intellectual capabilities of a respectable percentage of the students on the Antioch Program for Interracial Education to graduate from Antioch.

The crucial factor will be whether they find at Antioch enough of relevance to who they are and what they want to become to develop the tools and the self-discipline to acquire the knowledge necessary to earn a degree.

One of the integral pieces of the original design was the early identification and subsequent preparation of potentially productive students. Antioch alumni and co-op students were to take the initiative in tutoring and in making available to candidates a wide variety of educational experiences. For several reasons this has not worked as originally conceived. A prime one is that the candidates are asked to comprehend and to appreciate much that does not fit into their contemporary life styles, and they have not had the time nor experienced any impetus to alter the life style. Further, it turns out that Antioch alumni and co-op students, although active in the Program, are very busy people who have difficulty finding enough time to form effective relationships with these students. Further, the students themselves have commitments to school, to jobs, to other activities that seem more important to them at the time.

Since it was patently impossible to repair the deficiencies of 15 to 20 years without the operation of some powerful motive, it was decided that perhaps what was most important, and most possible, was that students begin to make changes in self-concept and aspiration. If this could be accomplished, they could then be directed to those agencies and organizations already set up in communities to help students from disadvantaged groups to prepare themselves for post-secondary school education.

Students who were identified early, then (and there have been some as early as the ninth grade), are encouraged to think of Antioch as one of a number of <u>real</u> alternatives. They are directed to community resources, and the aid of counselors and other community people is enlisted in their support. One student was recommended to the Independent Schools Talent Search Program and subsequently

enrolled in a preparatory school. Another student came from one of the ISTP schools. One candidate was enrolled directly in a private preparatory school. Several have been recommended to or have come from Upward Bound. There have been college and university Upward-Bound-like programs. Community agencies, such as Associated Community Teams (New York) and the Urban League, have provided special programs. Indeed, students enrolled in some of these programs multiplied their choices of college so that Antioch was no longer the primary opportunity.

Final selection is not made until early in the senior year. Following acceptance, students visit the College, are given a battery of diagnostic tests, and are advised to seek whatever remedial help they seem to need. The selector groups are asked to help in implementing the suggestions. Because of the importance of the work experience at Antioch, every student who matriculates in the fall quarter receives help, if he needs it, in finding a job for the summer. The job is often selected because of its educational value for the particular student.

Fifty students have been selected. Thirty-eight of these have arrived at Antioch; the first eleven two years ago (in the fall of 1965). How have they fared? Two have withdrawn--one to enroll at a nearby state college, the second because of personal difficulties. Any attempt to summarize their particular experiences or the experiences of the College in general is fraught with peril. What has happened so far does not lend itself to generalizations. The exceptions do not get adequate treatment. Nonetheless....

IMPACT OF THE COLLEGE ON THE STUDENTS

At Antioch the learning situation is viewed as three dimensional--the community, the co-op job, and the formal subject matter. "Our purpose," President Dixon has said, "is to cultivate the intellectual, appreciate the beautiful, and manage the emotional so that individuals learn patterns of behavior that will reward them by personal fulfillment and that will further a society of justice and moral order. Defined in this way, our educational concerns become as large as life itself."

The Antioch community often affords shocks to the novitiate of whatever background. To the students on the Antioch Program for Interracial Education the transition was sufficiently unsettling to deserve the nomenclature of culture shock. The students were unprepared for the divergence they found in language, custom, values, artifacts. The vocabulary was not dissimilar, though subgroups sharing different experiences tended to have some in-group expressions in common. What dismayed the Interracial Education students was the extent to which the ordinary conversation of other students was devoted to abstract ideas and introspective examination. They were more used to using their language to deal with concrete external immediate reality. As one student put it, he would like to enjoy a beer without a dissertation on the origin, history, and psychology of beer drinking. There was the recurrent complaint that the students "played with words" and didn't put their points across clearly. Initially the Interracial Education students had clear ideas about their purpose for being in college--to get a degree, a good job, and a secure physical existence. Sometimes the vocational goals were specific--engineer, lawyer, teacher. They felt that they could not entertain the notion of education for its own sake; they needed to relate to a goal--a vocation, a baccalaureate degree.

The most immediate source of confusion to these students, for whom being "tied back" (well dressed) was a source of pride and status, was the casual dress of many of the Antioch students. Another obvious--and grating--difference was the difference in taste in music. There was the problem (particularly for the men) of reconciling the campus male model with the more physical male model to which they were accustomed. These are only a few of the more obvious difficulties experienced by the students in the process of transition. They led to the early acquisition of a protective shield, which later was to be drawn aside only for the students and faculty they learned to trust. Many of the first eleven (despite the fact that no attempt was made to group them) found one another and began the formation of a sub-community based on the recognition of commonly shared experiences.

Having determined that survival lay ultimately with the ability of individuals to manage their own lives and to develop ways of using the Antioch environment, there were in the beginning no planned meetings of the students as a group. Initially at their request, and over the months as a continuing practice, regular weekly, informal, voluntary discussion meetings have been held. The students use this as a resource as they feel the need for it. Sometimes only two or three students come, sometimes as many as twelve or fifteen (half of the students reside on campus at one time). Most often the meetings are held in a room with video taping facilities. From time to time discussions have been video taped, so that now there are some thirty hours of video taped recordings dealing with a variety of topics and including a number of different people. Occasionally the home of a faculty member has been made available for the discussions. Occasionally a topic is planned the previous week. Generally the prevailing concern of the moment dictates the subject for discussion.

What are some of the concerns that manifested themselves in the discussions? These are only a few: the Antioch peer culture, initial reactions to Antioch, the co-op job experience, money, military service, liberal education, God, advice of upper-class students to new ones. Given the large proportion of Negro students, it should come as no surprise that race has been a dominant theme in the discussions, particularly as the numbers of students began to increase. This concern has escalated as the black power and black consciousness movements have begun to sweep the college campuses. "Is the Antioch community as free from racial prejudice as it seems to be? Can white people be trusted? Is it all right for us to know one another? Why should we feel guilty about being with one another? Why do the other Interracial Education students ostracize me if I do not stay with them constantly? How can I 'be myself' when the pressures are on mento become white and middle-class? How can we (or I) make an effective impact on the community? How can the experiences here be related to the 'real world' (experienced on co-op jobs)? What is black power, black consciousness? Can it be an effective tool for living for me? How can I justify my dating white students?" Occasionally there have been discussions of specific concerns. Once the feelings ran high because ID cards of white and Negro young people were checked disproportionally. The solution which they worked out to that was that some Negro students should volunteer to be checkers. They talked about promoting campus-wide discussion groups on black-white issues. They talked about presenting a production to the community. They considered the pros and cons of petitioning to live together. They talked about participation in a Community Government sponsored week-end conference on black-white relationships.

They talk endlessly among themselves, for the most part more openly and honestly than when they are with adults of any race or white students, excepting those who are accepted and trusted. They discuss all the aforementioned, and hold a continuous evaluation of the concept and operation of the Antioch Program for Interracial Education. They have started a study group on Black Protest Literature, and with students from nearby colleges worked on a "Black Arts Fair."

Realizing that restriction of the self to a limited group persists only until the self finds the way into a larger society and can function in it, the staff has recognized the need for the supportive, in-group relationships, and has at the same time encouraged the students, and tried to find ways to help students, to function in the wider society. Initially only one Interracial Education Student was placed in each living group (preceptoral group). Later it became possible and seemed desirable to put at least two together.

The discussion group itself is open, though it is rare that white and seldom that Negro students not in the Interracial Education Program attend. There is a weekly open house, which anyone interested in or curious about the Program can attend. There is constant supportive individual counselling and encouragement to use the resources (including other faculty members) of the College.

There have been several courses and seminars that seemed to speak to the concerns of some of the students: Minority Group Relations, Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, North-South Sectionalism. They have not enrolled en masse. The most favorable reactions have been to a student initiated seminar called "Revolution in Black and White," probably because it recognized the validity of the contributions of the black students and consciously made it possible for them to make them. In addition, the Religious Committee sponsored a discussion on black-white relationships. It was not very well attended by Interracial Education students.

The students yearn to make some impact on the community; but although quite analytical and articulate among themselves, in groups where the usual kind of expression is more valued, they tend, like any insecure persons, to say nothings even when they have something significant to say.

There have been some students who have been able to expose themselves to wider participation in the community. Three students have run for, and been elected to, the Community Council. One served as a hall representative. Three were in theatre productions, several in a student-made film. Several served on Community Council committees: the Social Committee, the Faculty Advisory Committee, the Voluntary Community Services Committee, the clothing store committee. One has been actively involved in the anti-draft movement on campus, one in photography, one as a volunteer tutor for a Spanish-speaking child in public school. Two students applied to be preceptoral fellows (upper-class student assistants in the First-Year Program). While they may not, in every case, have served with distinction, these students at least have shown this much willingness to risk themselves in the larger encounter in the community.

There is an ebb and flow in the level of tension and the level of hostility of the Interracial Education students as well as of all students that coincides with the progression of weeks during the quarter. At the beginning, newly released from the co-op job pressures and before the pressures of academic performance become acute, they have a kind of calm. Students like Antioch better then. Eleven weeks later, hostilities are very close to the surface. From this perspective, Interracial Education students tend to view other students as "phony," the Interracial staff as bumblers, and the College as impossible.

There is another pattern in the development of attitudes and feelings about Antioch. They come with the knowledge that Antioch students are the "cream of the crop"--smart, wise, and rich. Their first reaction is awe, to which reaction they cling for awhile despite the casual dress and because of the verbal virtuosity of the students. After a while this turns to hostility--the hostility the "outs" have for the "ins"--and later to contempt as they begin to learn about usual Antioch student "hangups," problems that seem to be unreal artifices, made up for effect. As students in the Program know more and more individuals, they are able to come to recognize the human-ness of the middle-class white students as well as their own human-ness.

Most Interracial Education students recognize that they are learning a great deal from participation in the community. "The most important things we are learning," said one student, "we won't get credit for." Students talk about their friends and acquaintences who went to other colleges, whose college experiences were isolated from other students except in the classroom. One spoke of his conversations with his peers and said that though they could list classes attended and grades received, he felt that he had learned more than they. Many students in describing how they think they change in the first year at Antioch describe themselves as becoming more open, more aware, and more questioning. They begin to abandon the idea that there is a set of answers that constitutes a college education. One student, who was particularly hostile and unresponsive at first, said that his experiences were like a series of rooms, each leading into the next by a door that closed behind him as he moved into the next room. At first, he said, he was frightened and wanted to go back, but the door behind him was closed. Now he looked forward to moving through the rooms to find out what was behind the next door.

One of the open doors is the opportunity for a series of job experiences. The extramural component of the Antioch education has been a source of strength for the Antioch Program for Interracial Education. Not only is it coherent and relevant for the student; it also adds to his store of salable skills and multiplies his life choices.

When the Program was being designed, there was some question about the wisdom of withdrawing the students from the academic learning situation (which they clearly need) for immersion in a job learning situation (which they presumably have experienced). In the first place, the students by and large have not had such extensive or positive job experience,

at least prior to the inception of the Neighborhood Youth Corps. This should not be surprising, considering the high rate of unemployment among Negro young people in the ghetto. In the second place, the co-op job provides a respite from specifically academic pressures and gives opportunities to compete with other Antioch students more evenly. Further, it provides students whose geographic mobility has by and large been restricted a chance to experience new people and places.

Following are a list of jobs held by students in the Antioch Interracial Education Program. Job counselling by the extramural staff helps the students choose their jobs. Sometimes students need to be placed where there is a particularly understanding supervisor.

Place of Employment (Firm, Location)	Job Description
Rochester Children's Nursery, Rochester, N.Y.	Teaching aide
Chicago Wesley Memorial Hospital, Chicago	Orderly
Upstate Medical Center, Syracuse, N.Y.	Nursery aide
Museum of Science and Industry, Chicago	Guide
McDonnell Aircraft, St. Louis	Cleaner
St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis	Copy boy
National Society for Crippled Children and Adults, Chicago	Chart maker
ACT Harlem, New York	Messenger
Colorado Rocky Mountain School, Carbondale, Colorado	Assistant teacher
U. S. Public Health Service, Cincinnati	Office
E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, Wilmington, Delaware	Design technician
National Institutes of Health, Washington, D. C.	Operator of computers
Chicago Historical Society	Labelling
Art Center at La Jolla, Calif.	
Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, Boston	Messenger
Shultz Company, Inc., New York	Variety
Yellow Springs Instrument Co., Yellow Springs, Ohio	Production
Clear Lake Camp, Dowling, Mich.	Counselor
Otter Lake Conservation School, Greenfield, N. H.	Counselor
Anthropology Research Project, Yellow Springs, Ohio	Calculating
William Filene's Sons Co., Boston	Stock room
Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.	Messenger
American Film Productions, Inc., New York	Clerk
Winnetka Public Schools, Winnetka, Ill.	Assistant kindergarten teacher
HEW National Teachers Corps, Washington, D. C.	Data research
Northwestern University Clinics, Chicago	Admissions aide
William Morris Agency, New York	Messenger
National Opinion Research Center, Chicago	Coder
N.Y. School for Nursery Years, New York	Aide
Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago	Guide
R. H. Macy and Co., New York	Sales
G. T. Hansen Planetarium, Salt Lake City	Guide
Martin E. Segal and Co., New York	Actuarial assistant
University Hospital, New York	Aide

B. Altman and Co., New York	Sales
Westminster Woods Camp, Saugatuck, Mich.	Counselor
McCall Corp., New York	Messenger
Northwestern University Clinics, Chicago	Aide
Popular Library, New York	Office worker
Cleveland City Planning Commission, Cleveland	Office boy
Audio Visual Service Dept., Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio	Technical personnel
OIC, Xenia, Ohio	Job developer
Nicetown Club for Boys and Girls, Philadelphia	Counselor
Clear Water Ranch, Philo, California	Counselor
Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio	Audio visual services
Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.	Co-op school
YMCA Vocational Service Center, New York	Librarian/counselor
Harshe-Rotman & Druck, Inc., New York	Office boy
Food Giant Market, Los Angeles, Calif.	File clerk
Kettering Research Laboratory, Yellow Springs, Ohio	Technician

Summer entrants work in the fall and spring of the first year and the summer and winter of the following year; fall entrants work in the winter and the following fall and spring. During the first two years then, every student holds three or four jobs. The ratings earned on these jobs by Antioch Interracial students have varied from "unsatisfactory" to "excellent." Four students have been fired (one twice). Two were fired for being absent from work for an extended period, two for unsatisfactory work.

Most generally their feelings about work are positive, despite sometimes finding themselves in very difficult situations. One student, for example, was required to serve eviction notices on people who were like people he had grown up with. Another worked in a community in which Negroes were oddities in a job where Negroes were virtually unknown. A third worked in a suburban school. Sometimes jobs were more menial than expected.

For some jobs, students from the backgrounds described have particular attributes that are recognizable as strengths. In the developing programs of community organization and education in the ghettos there is a great need for people who can trust and be trusted at the "grass roots" as well as be able to deal with the establishment. As long as the Interracial Education Program students retain their belief in the validity of their backgrounds as they seek to acquire additional knowledge and skills, there is the possibility that they can be extremely effective in these sorts of jobs.

Some industries and agencies are sufficiently interested in training Negroes for their use to make possible job appointments in the hope of interesting people in future work with the organization. Notably, E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company of Wilmington, Delaware (which has also provided scholarships for four students), has made available to date four jobs.

Perhaps of equal value with the job is the experience of going to a strange city, finding a place to live, establishing a set of relationships that enable one to live, to work, to enjoy recreation. There are educational opportunities in cities in which--along with other Antioch students--Interracial Education students participate. The students get more of a feeling of managing their own lives, of developing habits of planning, and of taking responsibility for their own decisions and otherwise overcoming the stultifying sense of powerlessness commonly held by the poor and the black.

Antioch is, after all, an academic community and it is academics, narrowly conceived as the transmission of culture, that is perhaps the area that will seem least useful for the needs of these young people whose experiences thus far have prepared them for living a different kind of life. The educational system that they have already encountered has failed to stimulate an interest in learning. The task that Antioch demands of them is to develop the kind of commitment to learning that will create an imperative to take advantage of whatever resources are made available by the College and to continue educating themselves beyond the acquisition of degrees.

This is a large order, at best realized incompletely even by students from favored backgrounds. One Antioch faculty member put it that to encounter a student who became a producer rather than a consumer in his own field was a rare and rewarding occasion.

The literature of deprivation calls attention to the traditional passivity of the poor. Learning is not a passive activity. New ideas, experiences, concepts, bodies of knowledge must be attacked to be overcome. The large amount of assertiveness demanded assumes a confidence of selfhood. That is not so often the lot of the poor. In this society passivity in the poor is expected and rewarded. Passivity in the black is demanded. The plight of the poor, Negro male is doubly perilous: While as poor and black he is expected to be passive, and is punished if he is not, as a male in this society he is expected to be assertive and aggressive, and is penalized if he is not. The Antioch Program set out to search for young people who had taken the initiative in their environments--young people who were not passive, with the question of whether their modus vivendi could operate in a different setting.

The advent of the Antioch Program for Interracial Education coincided, happily for most students, with the advent of an experimental First-Year Program in which each first-year student, with 14 or 15 of his classmates, is assigned to a faculty preceptor and two upper-class preceptoral fellows to plan their academic experience from a variety of faculty offerings (seminars and presentations), programmed materials, tapes, independent study guides, short courses. No grades are given, but at the end of the year the student, his preceptor, and other faculty members he has worked with, evaluate his work and determine whether or not he has fulfilled the requirements of the first year.

One of the principal disadvantages for the Interracial Program students was shared by all. They were penalized by the continuous evaluation and revision and all the uncertainty inherent in the dynamics of developing a new kind of academic experience. Expectations fluctuated and even

when settled on were not always made clear to students. Nevertheless, the advantages quite possibly outweighed the disadvantages. Interracial students were able to work out their transition to a new subculture under less pressure. There was the possibility of devoting time to the acquisition of necessary tools for survival--an understanding of the Antioch language, customs, and mores as well as improvement of their own modes of expression. There was the option of using an interest already held, a subject with which they were already comfortable, as the entree into academia. There was the chance for endless bull sessions with students from many different backgrounds. However, it did make well nigh impossible the evaluation of the Interracial students in standard terms (no grade point averages, lists of courses, etc.). The significant elements of what might be a useful evaluation system for them are only now being isolated.

Achievement tests standardized on Antioch students over several years are given during the first two weeks of the new students' sojourn at Antioch. They are given principally to assess levels of skill in English and math, and to diagnose for the student the level of his knowledge in certain subjects aligned in the areas of the humanities, the physical and biological sciences, and the social sciences. A score sufficiently high enables a student to earn credit points toward graduation and proceed to second-level courses. A somewhat lower score indicates that he needs to take level-one courses. A still lower score requires both level-one courses and retaking the tests at a later date.

It would be expected that most of the Interracial Education students would need to acquire more information before being able to pass the tests. This is true in some--but not all--cases. Two of the 38 performed satisfactorily in the humanities area; 3 in the social sciences; and 9 in the physical sciences. With few exceptions, this meant the passing of one rather than two or three. Seven had adequate English skills; 13 had adequate math skills.

On the assumption that they did not possess test-taking skills to the degree that most of the normal population did, the students were encouraged to retake the tests as often as they were given. This meant that they usually took the tests when they themselves knew that they had not studied in the area and were not prepared. Still, 2 out of 9 retaking passed the humanities retest; 3 out of 10 passed the social science retest; 1 out of 5 passed the physical science retest; 5 out of 12 the English skills retest; and 6 out of 9 the math skills retest. In all areas except English skills the males have proportionately achieved more passing scores than have the females.

Interracial students participate in the academic program of the College along with other students. At the same time remedial and tutorial services have been made available to them. For students who fail to perform satisfactorily on the English and math skills test the College supplies remedial classes. These are usually small and individualized. Participation in these have enabled some students to learn enough to pass the tests. There are other students who have had insufficient math

to benefit from the classes. For them some basic instruction in algebra and geometry is necessary, and the Program has employed people (students and professional tutors) part-time to do this. The English skills remedial program is supplemented in the same way. One of the tasks of the student assistants is to encourage writing and reading--the use of the library and programmed materials. In addition, the students are encouraged to take advantage of the Baldridge Reading and Study Skills Program, which is offered periodically by the College. Teaching faculty very often have assistants who are willing to be helpful. Student tutors from the respective departments have been recruited from time to time. Student tutors and professional tutors are both volunteer and paid. Non-Interracial students have taken the initiative in organizing volunteer tutoring services.

There is no dearth of tutors. The problem of how to use them effectively has not yet been solved. The inclination of the students is to resist using them well until they are hopelessly behind in a particular course. On the other hand, students who are competent or able to become competent in a course resist having a tutor forced upon them. The tutors they use best are the ones they select themselves; roommates, fellow hall residents, fellow class members, fellow students on the Interracial Program, friends, sympathetic faculty members, or other adults. They use them best when they need them--when they are in the process of studying and want help in understanding something quite specific.

There is great variation in ability to use standard English, and the Program has not made any concerted effort to change speech patterns. Patterns have changed, however, as the students have become aware of their own speech in the context of the general speech. Some have participated in a communications workshop, a regular offering of the College built around the use of video tape. The playbacks of the recordings of the Interracial Program discussion sessions have been helpful. Several students have sought specific help from faculty members or are using programmed materials or are consciously using their peers.

There does not seem to be any pattern in the kind of subjects students choose to become involved in and the kinds they earn credit for. There is the usual range of introductory subjects, subjects that are required in certain fields (such as calculus, some foreign language, physical education). There is no concentration in courses that have to deal with social problems, political change, or history--that is to say, no particular preoccupation with poverty and discrimination dealt with abstractly. The emphasis appears to be on fulfilling requirements and learning something of interest.

The Antioch Education Abroad program is available to Interracial students who qualify. Although it was a new idea, several are now hoping to spend some time in Europe or Africa; one female student has spent a quarter in Mexico; two young women are spending the 1967 summer in Mexico.

Most students have earned some credit. Some are holding their own.

At the time of this writing first-year evaluations were not recorded for the 1966 entrants, so it is impossible to be specific. Half the second-year students are doing well enough to escape the attention of the committee that reviews the tenure of students with shaky academic records. Half were advised that they needed to concentrate their attention in the next year on the successful completion of more courses. These were not uniformly the students who showed the most promise in their initial scores. As a matter of fact, two of the students who are not doing well have passed the English and math skills and all level-one tests. They are students (both male) who have been least able to discipline their activities in order to complete specific academic tasks.

The variables in learning have been described as cognitive (ability to know), affective (desire to know), and conative (will to know). A significant proportion of the Interracial students have the ability. All have the desire. The will, the self-discipline, is the big problem for most.

Two factors stand out as presenting special obstacles. One is a kind of wariness of authority and suspiciousness of the white middle-class that slows the growth of that modicum of trust necessary to a learning situation. Another is a preoccupation with the identity crisis, which saps the energy, takes time, and forecloses concentration on matters that lie outside their concern with being poor and/or black. These factors seem to be more acute for the males than for the females.

Interracial Education students are informed at the time they are selected that financially the College will provide the difference between what they bring and what they need for four of their five years. For the fifth year, partly as a measure of the worth to them of a college education, they will be required to seek other financing. In addition, the College Scholarship Service analysis of family income is used to arrive at some measure of what the parents might be expected to pay. An allocation from the Economic Opportunity Grants is made to each student to the extent that he qualifies. His parents are requested to contribute. Two students brought scholarships from the State of Pennsylvania, and occasionally a gift will be made through a selector group.

In order to arrive at the amount a student then requires, he is requested to make out a budget, at first for one quarter, later for longer periods of time, in which he estimates his income (earnings, parent contribution, savings) and his expenditures. In addition to tuition, fees, room, and board, all normal expenses (clothes, books, some travel) up to a specified amount are covered. Goods and services of desire rather than need are not covered (cameras, record players, bicycles, guitars), and no student on financial aid is permitted to own or operate an automobile. Students who do not live within their budgets are assisted with food, books, and other necessities, but must make other arrangements for other items. The budgeting procedure was designed as a learning experience for the students. It requires planning for the future, an assessment of importance of conflicting needs, a deferment of gratification, and an exercise of control.

For the parents it represents an expectation that they will acknowledge the importance of this plan to the student with some financial support if they are able to provide it.

How has it worked out? The staff feels that although this approach has been generally successful in establishing procedures and in setting financial limits, there are some problems. About half the students already possess or have come to demonstrate sufficient ability in their management of money that they needed no counselling beyond that ordinarily afforded by the financial aids office. This means that they can make out budgets and live within them. In this respect more of the women are successful than the men.

The problems stem largely out of a style of working with authority and money so as to try to beat the system--an unwillingness or inability to use money as a tool for responsible living. Some students, for example, undertake obligations for which they apparently feel no personal commitment, such as large telephone bills or library fines. Few manage to save from co-op jobs the amount of money that students on financial aid are ordinarily expected to save. This means that money that has been advanced against future income from co-op jobs, or money that has been borrowed for what are judged nonessential items, is not repaid within the stated time limits.

The use of the College Scholarship Service forms is complicated by the fact that a number of the students do not maintain any relationship with their families. There is a wide range of practice in the degree to which parents have participated financially. Parents of 21 students were expected to contribute less than $100; 30 did. Of the 13 who were expected to contribute between $200 and $500, 8 actually did, and the 3 who were expected to contribute $700-900 contributed nothing. If the CSS forms truly reflect effective income and ability to assist the students, presumably the discrepancy between what is expected and what is actually contributed reflects an outlook that places less value on education than that commonly held by middle-class families.

Finance is at once a difficult and a meaningful arena in which to work with the students. Their feelings are very much involved and their use of money symbolizes their attitudes about themselves, about the College, about the Program staff, and about the future. While there might be some advantage to giving each student a specified predetermined amount, the utility of money as an instrument of growth might well be forestalled by that course of action.

The over-all expenditures lie within the budget allocations. Funds earmarked for student costs are being used for those purposes. Administrative costs are being met out of funds so allocated.

IMPACT OF THE STUDENTS ON THE COLLEGE

In the 1966 brochure directed by the Admissions Office to secondary schools, Antioch is described as a college whose

> "freshmen come from achievement oriented, intellectual, liberal families, whose values they share. They tend to come from backgrounds that are also urban, professional, and middle-class. Their parents are living together (84 per cent), and well over two-thirds of the fathers and mothers attended college. The entering freshmen place little value on status and money, consider themselves liberal politically and religiously, and emphasize an individuality coupled with a strong concern for people. About 70 per cent of them plan education beyond the baccalaureate degree, since they view basic general education as the primary goal of college, especially in the humanities and social sciences. Features of Antioch that appeal most to the freshmen who enroll are the opportunity to develop as an individual, the work-study plan of cooperative education, and the reputation of the College for educational pioneering."

Described in the same vein, the Antioch Program for Interracial Education students, one would have to say, come from non-achievement oriented, non-intellectual, conservative families, whose values they probably do not share. They tend to come from urban backgrounds, unskilled laboring, lower-class. Their parents may or may not be living together (50%) and have not attended college. They place considerable value on status and money, are probably apolitical and nonreligious, and are concerned about getting ahead. At the time of entrance very few plan education beyond the baccalaureate degree. They view career preparation as the primary goal of college and are most attracted to the work-study program.

In the last 25 years there have been 193 Negro students enrolled in the College. Fifty-seven of these graduated, 56 withdrew. Eighty are still enrolled (about 5% of total student body), 35 of whom are Interracial students. At the present time then, there are more Negro and possibly more students who come from significantly different socio-economic backgrounds than there have been at Antioch in many years. What has been the impact of this new group on the campus? That there has been an impact, there is no doubt. The nature of the impact is complex, and since its analysis is dependent on random informal observations and comments that have come to the staff, it is partial and very likely distorted.

The most immediate, and probably the most powerful, result of this new infusion was in the area of community. The designers of the Program were aware of the tremendous reservoirs of good will and idealism on the campus. The emphasis on individual development, the enthusiasm

for educational pioneering, the liberal backgrounds of the students all augured well for the fledgling idea. On the other hand, high tuition, the rising standards of admission, the emphasis on academic excellence made for enough of a homogenizing effect to raise the question of whether the college could be hospitable to students of another ilk. After all, the students coming through regular channels were very likely to be the "short-changed children of suburbia" whose lives had been protected from contact with the poor and the black. Whether their ideals could survive the reality was a part of the risk.

Very soon many of the Interracial students identified one another and began to spend a great deal of time together. They talked together socially, they visited together, studied together, danced together, played together, and at almost every meal, ate together. While this was not true of all Interracial Program Negro students, it was true enough of them to be perceived as a "sticking together" of the whole group to the exclusion of white students. Middle-class Negro students and Interracial students who wanted to explore a variety of relationships felt coerced to participate in the ingroup. It was often observed that the protective grouping prevented students from making the kinds of relationships that lead to mutual teaching and learning on the part of students from many backgrounds.

Some students were franker. One said that his interpretation of the feelings of many Antioch students was one of resentment at the newcomers who brought with them the social problems of the "outside world." He said there were students at Antioch who look on the College as a retreat from their co-op experiences, where they often had to deal with the same sort of people and problems. Another student not in the Program said that he was enthusiastic about the idea of the Program but knew that he was afraid of the Interracial Education students when there were more than 2 or 3 together whom he didn't know. (And it must be said that some of the male Interracial students are aware of this feeling and seek to foster it by exaggerating or at least preserving the street swagger and the in-group language of the ghetto.) A non-Program student whose parents were sacrificing greatly to send him to Antioch was openly angry that students who had not worked as hard as he had--who were patently "less deserving and well prepared" had a "free ride" when he was uncertain of his financial tenure from quarter to quarter. Still another student (a Negro not in the Program) was upset because he was afraid of being identified with the Interracial students--of losing his favored status as one of the few Negroes on campus. Still another non-Program student, bothered at rising college costs, worried lest his tuition was being increased to subsidize the unprepared.

Attitudes run the gamut, and students, Interracial and non-Interracial, can expose themselves to one another or protect themselves from one another as much as they like. Those who have the most positive feelings for one another appear to be those who have taken the time and the energy to try to understand one another as persons. Of course, some have come to know one another fairly well and to detest one another cordially, based on experience rather than preconception. The best feelings have resulted with students who have come truly to respect one another as individuals--

their feelings, their contributions; when they have been able to be open about their misunderstandings, their skepticism, their mutual fears and hostilities. One Negro Interracial student was so outraged at the presence of a Confederate flag in his hall that he withdrew completely from participation. It was only much later that he was able to divulge to his preceptoral group the depth of his feelings (negative) about them.

Most people would agree that there is a heightened consciousness of race and class on campus. Some people regard this as "bad"--others think of it as "good." The Negro students have ties to other Negro college students at both predominantly white and predominantly Negro colleges and universities. They are a part of the movement concerned with "black consciousness" and as such, are seeking to fit their being black students on a white campus with being black people in a white world. They recognize poignantly that Antioch is not the "real world" and question whether it equips them for dealing with the white world on a reality basis. They raise questions about their feeling of being seduced into a relationship of trust that, while perhaps valid at Antioch, would put them at a disadvantage in a world where different weapons are being forged and used.

It is not surprising that this feeling and the expression of it are sometimes difficult for the community at large to understand. And yet that there is mutual understanding and the development of positive relationships and freedom of movement is attested to by the fact that the Interracial students stay, that they return. They compare their experience at Antioch with the experience of other students at predominantly white schools to Antioch's advantage. They feel responsible for participating in the community and not limiting their social relationships with one another. Probably the most positive impact on the community is that people from different backgrounds become real--to be dealt with on an equal basis--not as inferiors or superiors, not as ghetto children to tutor or to be tutored, not as poor Negroes to be helped or whites to be tolerated, not as the household help to do honest, respectable (and menial) work or employers of household help, but as fellow students--peers.

It is not possible to determine precisely the nature and extent of the effect on other parts of the College. It is to be hoped that the close attention given to the learning experiences of the Interracial students will illuminate the experiences of all students as they are affected by the current stresses of this society. One senses a kind of anxiety that the academic program might be diluted for the benefit of Program students. In fact, the expectation is that they meet the requirements set by the faculty in the courses. Faculty are often aware of the students' identity and sensitive to their strengths and their limitations. There are, however, because of the range of difference, both in the students and the faculty, no identifiable patterns in this particular student-faculty encounter.

The impact has been softened in some ways by the existence of a special staff. While the students are expected to use the regular resources of the college, the presence of a kind of buffer group supports their use of the extramural faculty and the counselling facilities. The Admissions Office works with the staff in the admissions procedures. It

is expected that the financial aid procedures, now handled completely by a staff member of the Antioch Program for Interracial Education, will eventually be transferred to the office of financial aid.

The Interracial students this year constituted about 2 per cent of the total student body. It is possible for the students and faculty to be unaware or only peripherally aware of their presence here. It is the writer's impression that the injection of this tiny proportion of students of a radically different background has produced an awareness, a ferment, that is greater than would be expected from the numbers.

The present plan is to continue the admission of some significantly different students, increasing the proportion of members of minority groups other than Negro. Undoubtedly the nature of the impact will change as the numbers increase. When the College has been able to accommodate itself to their recruitment and retention over a long period of time--so that they graduate and make contributions of some consequence to society--then the College can consider itself to be successful in this venture. By that time the meeting of their educational needs will be an integral part of college services and there will be no special office to administer the Antioch Program for Interracial Education.

IV. QUESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The primary questions have been stated in several previous reports. They are still the major questions of concern. Can bright young people of different background with no expectation of attending college be found? Can they be interested in going to a college, and will they remain once they are there? Can what is taught there be or become sufficiently relevant to them to involve them in the process of education, of learning, of problem solving? Finally, is it possible to isolate the essential elements necessary to the accomplishment of a purpose of this kind so that it can be applicable to educational institutions of a different sort?

There are numerous facets to these questions. Old ones are never completely answered and new ones arise each day.

Bright young people whose backgrounds foreclose a college education as an option can be found. There is no shortage of energetic, dedicated people, both inside and outside of schools, who are responsive to any college's determination to seek a wider measure of diversity in its student body. They need to be assured that the college is willing to make some accommodation to the differences so that the students have some chance of survival.

As the assessment of the present Interracial student response to the Antioch environment progresses, more will be understood about the nature of the selection process now used by the Antioch Program for Interracial Education. How does it operate? What kinds of students does it respond to? Does it uncover the bright students with ego-strengths? Or does it operate with a bias towards highly verbal people with a capacity for forming pleasant social relationships? And how much do these characteristics have in common? Are the young people who have been able to make connections with adults the tough and mobile ones? Is their nascent alienation from the values and aspirations of their peers a strength? Can the responses that are essential to survival in their previous subculture, and that appear to be inappropriate responses to the new environment, be sorted out from responses that are generally inappropriate? That is to say, what is a distortion of the structure of the culture and what is a distortion in the structure of the personality that makes too stressful the attempt to use well <u>any</u> environment? What are the components of the kind of ego-strength and coping capacity required for this kind of migration? Is the college, through the use of the selectors, indeed finding the kinds of students that it is looking for? Is enough known about the survival abilities of the students so far recruited to enable a more precise set of definitions to be given to the selector groups?

The intent is to continue the recruitment in the present form for the time being. Selector groups are kept up to date on the progress and problems of the students already selected so as to inform their ensuing judgments. They are encouraged to continue the commitment to counselling all students uncovered by them, to aid in the opening of opportunities for them, to help them in their preparation, and to seek supplementary financial aid.

More flexibility in the selection process can probably be accommodated now. There have already been some departures from the basic plan. Among the 1966 summer entrants were several students who were included in the Interracial Program as a result of their direct application to the Admissions Office and the determination that they met some of the criteria for inclusion in the Interracial Program. Other students of this sort might be included. This Program was instigated prior to the establishment of the Upward Bound Program. There are at present students who come through the selector groups who have experienced Upward Bound. Direct recommendation from some selected Upward Bound and Upward Bound-like programs might be considered. It is perhaps time to implement the geographic expansion that was forseen in the beginning. New York has already been added. Inquiries have come from all over the country. It should not be too difficult to replicate the selector groups in any one of a dozen metropolitan areas. Serious inquiries are being made relative to Minnesota, particularly with respect to the Chippewa Indian group. The inclusion of American Indians will pose a different set of adaptation problems which are not within the experience of present staff members. Poor white, Puerto Rican, and Mexican-American young people, included now on what looks like a token basis, need to be considered actively by the selector groups. The problems of earlier identification and suitable preparation have not been solved. Early identification as it is effective now is effective only in a very generalized way. College becomes one of a number of alternatives. The use of community agencies and facilities already set up for the purpose can be increased, although the Antioch alumni and other people who know the College are helpful in interpreting the nature of Antioch. Already the Director of Admissions is working with the St. Louis selector group. This process of moving the identification aspect of the Program into the Admissions Office should be continued.

Thirty-six out of the 38 so far enrolled have remained. Why? Flight from the social stresses and academic pressures would be the expected response of people from similar backgrounds. Are there lasting changes in self-concept and aspiration and ability to realize those aspirations? Can they perceive relevance in the College? To what extent does the threat of being drafted influence the men's decision to remain at the College? Can they come to terms with being black in a white college in the present climate of Black Power? Can they come to terms with a different definition of the masculine role? Can they come to trust the faculty and their fellow students to the extent that they are willing to expose their selves? Can they use their experience in this kind of venture as an expression of their interest in and commitment to contribute to the solution of the problems of achieving social justice?

What ought to be the role of the office and staff of the Antioch Program for Interracial Education? When does the support supplied by such a unit foster dependency and stand in the way of full use of the resources of the College? Is it possible for it to help the students become active in the pursuit of learning? Should the staff take more initiative in setting up special kinds of groups and experiences to help make the transitions less stressful and to help the entire community make more explicit the learning engendered by the presence of the Interracial

students? Or should it be less active? The present plan is to proceed as rapidly as possible to abandon as much special activity as possible, as students become able to find their way to resources of other students and faculty. Such supportive services as are needed will be continued, but even now many students are able to operate independently of office support and all must use in varying degrees, other resources of the College. The accumulation of a generation of students who have been able to stay will make easier the subsequent recruitment of students. It will also make it easier for them to accept themselves as "regular Antioch students," and to look forward to their retention as an expected consequence of their coming.

The questions, can the students be found and can they be retained, can be answered tentatively in the affirmative, even though there are some dimensions of the questions that cannot be answered definitively for some time. Can Antioch teach them? Or, stated another way, can they learn at Antioch? The answer to this question is dependent on a great many variables. It is dependent on the willingness of the College to accept the validity of the experiences they bring, to be flexible about the rate and manner of their acquisition of tools and knowledge, and to accommodate itself to the discomfort of the divergent points of view they have.

Some of the early literature describing this Program speaks of putting the "college at risk." The elemental question is whether the College is a closed system in which certain kinds of educational products (faculty) choose the raw material (academically oriented, middle-class students) for the new product (the preparation of students for a graduate education that will prepare them to teach the same kinds of people as themselves). Can the College admit of diversity? What kind? And how much? Will it insist that the students be as much like its usual products as possible, or will it permit the integrity of the Newcomers?

Occasionally there are proposals for kinds of counselling and teaching that hold the possibility of dealing with some academic difficulties on a group basis. Would the advantages of this kind of approach outweigh the advantages of dealing with the strengths and weaknesses of the individuals and encouraging them to take responsibility for their own learning? Would it serve to isolate them from the other students and thus to prevent the kind of learning from them that takes place? Or will it act to help them to gain confidence by being better prepared in a specific way?

Which are the characteristics that make the difference? It is not yet possible to say. Certainly at this point the enthusiasm of the selectors has not been the determining factor in what is perceived by the college as "taking hold." Neither has the academic aptitude measured by standard scores. It seems clear that the ability to establish trust will be central. The sex of the students perhaps has some bearing. Why is the sex of the student a significant variable? Is it the intensity of the identity struggle, and if so, how can the College mediate it?

Is family stability a factor? What about family dreams, aspirations, and mobility? Many of the present students are not backed up with this kind of support. Will it be enough that they themselves, the selector groups, and the Interracial Program staff expect them to succeed? Is there a way to predetermine the degree of openness and assertiveness if these are indeed crucial?

The kinds of data that will be forthcoming from faculty, from the students themselves, and from their fellow students will provide insights into what they learn and why and how. More attention needs to be addressed to the students' ability to learn in groups, alone, from faculty, from other students, from various experiences, from programmed materials.

Very often the response of staff to queries of how the Program is going is that it is raising more questions than providing answers. While this might seem specious, it is the only possible answer. Like the student who sees the experience as a series of rooms connected by open doors, questions raised by this Program raise new and important questions.

Interracial Education students are asked to participate in an experiment. They are also expected to think of themselves and to comport themselves as bona fide Antioch students who come to teach and learn as do all other students. There is, for many, a great desire to be anonymous, to be indistinguishable from the usual Antioch student, to have no "guinea pig" status. To some extent, but not completely, they are free to do this. This report is evidence that their experience is scrutinized. If it were not, there would be no way of learning anything useful to share with other institutions. The experimental nature of the Program is justified on the basis that it is no empty research for the sake of more research. It is a commitment by the College to a program in which the participation of the students themselves is needed to aid in the solution of a basic social problem. Still there is a dilemma posed by being, in fact, special. At what point does the exploitation of their "special" status become detrimental to their education? The video-taped discussions are a case in point. They would be invaluable at certain points in the curriculum. Their being used this way, however, would focus an attention on the students that they undoubtedly would find most uncomfortable.

Antioch is continuously involved in experimentation. The Interracial students can see themselves in the perspective of a broader experiment. The seven colleges that accepted Rockefeller grants are interested in the outcomes and have been talking about some joint research venture that would call upon the experiences of all of the colleges.

Data collecting rather than data analysis is the current research emphasis. If the question can be sharpened, the data collection can become more refined. Results are still years distant.

V. CONCLUSION

The task that Antioch has undertaken with regard to this aspect of the education of its students is not simple. Its eventual outcome will be dependent on the College's willingness and ability to tolerate diversity and to be hospitable to kinds of students whose preparation is different from those it traditionally serves.

The ability of new students to make use of the College will depend on the quality of ego-strength they possess, their ability to acquire and work toward new aspirations, their capacity to develop trust in the new environment so that they are able to seek and use help, their ability to find in the academic world relevance to who they are and what they want to become.

Antioch has some strengths--its commitment to experiential education, its work-study program, its reputation as a liberal college willing to undertake educational pioneering. It is, however, a part of society and is affected by the same factors that affect the rest of the world, such as the increasing isolation of racial and socio-economic groups and the acceleration of factionalism. Many of the white students and faculty come from the suburbs and many of the black ones come from the ghetto. It would be absurd for Antioch to expect miracles of itself. It can hope to set into motion some changes in outlook and approach as the colleges and universities seek to make higher education more readily available to the disadvantaged.

The outcome depends on the relevance of the academic concerns to those of the "real" world as it is experienced by thousands of people in the United States. The survival of man as a human in an environment that will support human life is dependent on human ability to deal with that reality.

VI. PUBLICATIONS, REPORTS, INSTRUMENTS, ETC.

Dixon Bush, "Education for the Disadvantaged"
Antioch College Reports #7, April, 1965

Dixon Bush, "A Definition and Frame of Reference for Working with Disadvantaged Students"
Unpublished paper, February 28, 1966

Dixon Bush, "Diversity in the College"
Antioch Notes, May, 1966

Dixon Bush, "Disadvantaged Students at College: A New Dimension"
College and University Bulletin, March, 1967

FILMS

"Two Interviews" (short version)

"Two Interviews" (long version)

Untitled film compiled from audio visual tapes by student to illustrate attitudinal changes.

Other taped (audio visual) material will become available on film in the near future.